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# FOCUS

## Election '84: A JCPS Forum

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## Southern Africa: *A Troubled Neighborhood*

South Africa's system of apartheid threatens the development of the entire region.

South African Nobel Laureate Desmond Tutu

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Joint Center for Political Studies

# Perspective

Black Republicans are urging greater black presence in the GOP. They doom their own efforts to defeat, however, by leveling vicious attacks on black leaders for opposing President Reagan and his conservative agenda.

Republicans charge that black leaders are leading their people down a blind alley—the Democratic party. They paint the black population as sheep following a few self-anointed leaders who do not represent their interests. While this exaggeration might be flattering to the leaders—who could scarcely know they had such power—it is hardly flattering to the black populace at large.

Nor is it convincing. In a Gallup poll commissioned by the Joint Center last summer, only 14 percent of blacks were satisfied with the way things are going in the country. Some 82 percent of blacks disapproved of Mr. Reagan's job performance, and 72 percent described him as "prejudiced." Black leaders are actually closely in step with their constituents in their opposition to the current administration.

In fact, like many white leaders, they may be *following* the tides of opinion among their constituents. Harold Washington's mayoral race in Chicago grew out of a strong grass-roots political mobilization of the black community, and not the other way around. Jesse Jackson got more support initially from black ministers, community organizers, and ordinary citizens than from national black leaders.

To the extent that blacks *have* chosen to respond to these leaders, Republicans do themselves no good by denigrating their choice and telling blacks who their leaders *should* be. The Republican attacks on black leaders are, by extension, attacks on the very people to whom they are trying to appeal.

Telling blacks they have chosen the wrong leaders is not a new tactic. President-elect Reagan and Ed Meese tried it back in 1980. Mr. Reagan first refused and later reluctantly agreed to meet with the Black Leadership Forum, a coalition of major national organizations, including the NAACP, NUL, OIC, APRI, SCLC, and PUSH. Even in granting the meeting, Mr. Reagan refused to acknowledge the forum as an organization of black leaders. Instead, he sent individual invitations to each forum member. To add insult, he proclaimed that his own choice of black leaders—Ralph Abernathy, Hosea Williams, and Charles Evers—also would attend the meeting.

The meeting at Blair House followed a predictable script. The black leaders stated their concerns, and Mr. Reagan finessed them with vagueness and jokes. A few days later, Ed Meese, who had sat quietly through the Blair House meeting, proclaimed to a group of black GOP functionaries, conservative scholars, and curiosity-seekers that he had just left a meeting with "so-called" black leaders. With gusto, Mr. Meese promptly designated his audience as the new and *real* black leaders with whom the administration would consult.

Trying to go over the heads of leaders directly to the populace is an old political tradition. But in the last few years, Republicans have failed miserably in these tactics as far as blacks are concerned. And in trying to shift blame away from the administration's symbolic and substantive affronts to blacks and onto the critics of those actions, they have sunk to personal invective at its least productive. There is ample room for debate over policy issues and strategic choices by black leadership. But when EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas charges that black leaders "have essentially disenfranchised blacks" and Civil Rights Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton accuses them of leading black Americans to a "political Jonestown," they are not furthering that debate but confirming the image of an administration out of touch with and uncaring about the plight of blacks.

Black Republicans may have a good point when they argue that unqualified allegiance to the Democratic party is a losing strategy, but they should try to convert black leaders to that view, not deny the legitimacy of those leaders. There is no easy way to the hearts of black voters, who have been disappointed so continually in the past. As long as black leaders remain unconvinced that the administration has a product worth selling, and as long as the wholesalers beat the prospective merchants over the head, the black population will not buy.

**Eddie N. Williams**
**President**

**FOCUS**

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# Southern Africa

**by John Burroughs**

*(Mr. Burroughs, formerly U.S. ambassador to Malawi, is a senior fellow at the Joint Center.)*

A few weeks ago, Anglican Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. In making the award, the committee recognized the importance of Bishop Tutu's work in opposing the apartheid regime in South Africa. Black South Africans were, of course, ecstatic. In the black township of Soweto, singing and dancing broke out spontaneously.

Not surprisingly, the South African government all but ignored Bishop Tutu's honor. And since announcement of the award, there has been little to celebrate: violence has spread throughout many of the black townships, and observers feel it is worse and more widespread than the 1976 Soweto uprisings. The latest violence started in August after the white-minority ruled government adopted a new constitution giving limited parliamentary representation to coloreds and Asians but not to the black majority. Even such limited representation for blacks would probably stem the anger of the black population, at least temporarily, but whether the South African government will move in that direction remains to be seen.

The situation continued to worsen after South African army and police forces raided three black townships outside Johannesburg in October. House-to-house searches were conducted to eliminate what the South African government termed "revolutionary elements." On November 13, South African troops raided another black township (Tembisa) about 20 miles east of Johannesburg; 50 people were arrested. These incidents are probably only the first skirmishes in a long-term period of unrest that will affect the entire region.

The struggle against apartheid, and the South African government's resistance to that struggle, have implications far beyond the borders of South Africa. The peaceful abolition of the apartheid system and the political inclusion of all South Africans represent the only hope for regional security and economic development of neighboring black independent African nations. While no formal diplomatic ties exist between South Africa and most of its neighbors, trade, commercial, and other arrangements have existed for years, and the economic growth of these nations is very much dependent on the actions of the South African government.

### Two Examples

Mozambique is one of these neighbors. Until 10 years ago, the country was a Portuguese colony. In 1962, several Mozambican political groups came together to form the Front for Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which began an armed campaign against the Portuguese in 1964. After 10 years of sporadic warfare, Mozambique became independent on June 25, 1975. Today, Mozambique is a one-party Marxist-Leninist state in which the People's Assembly is the supreme organ of state power. With its ports on the Indian Ocean, Mozambique is the key to improving the transportation of goods throughout the entire region.

Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, has been designated as headquarters for the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Conference (SATCC) within the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The main purpose of SADCC is to lessen black Africa's dependence on South Africa for transportation and communications. Some 97 projects in the areas of transportation and communications have been identified, and funding arrangements are being worked out. The Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Canada, Italy, and Portugal have shown great interest in participating in these programs. The most important of these projects is the rehabilitation and development of facilities at Mozambique's three ports on the Indian Ocean and rail lines linking these ports to neighboring countries.

The country's economic development has been stymied, however, by forces opposed to the leftist government. These forces are allegedly supported by South Africa, although the South African government has denied involvement. The armed insurgency, known as the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), has attacked government installations, frequently disrupting internal rail and road transport and sabotaging Mozambique's links with neighboring countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe. The guerrillas have created a climate of insecurity, blocked internationally sponsored projects, and often prevented the distribution of food supplies to drought-stricken areas. Last March, Mozambique and South Africa signed a non-aggression pact, which may eventually lead to the cessation of hostilities and permit the earnest development of Mozambique's tremendous potential. But so far, RENAMO has not ended its attacks.

Malawi, which borders Mozambique on the north, is a tiny nation about the size of Pennsylvania. With no outlet to the sea, it is completely dependent upon neighboring countries, especially Mozambique, to provide transportation facilities to and from ocean ports. Guerrilla activity in Mozambique has forced Malawi to truck its goods long distances through Zambia and Zimbabwe, a more expensive and less practical alternative that costs the country $30 million per year. This drain on the nation's capital has led to severe shortages of essential imports, e.g., fuel and fertilizer.

### Common Problems

Even without the cross-border conflicts, dire economic conditions would impede the development of young nations in the region. High interest rates here in the United States have dried up investment capital, making imported goods more difficult to afford and further complicating the balance of payments problem for developing countries. Moreover, domestic factors such as the growth of public debt, large budget deficits, and a lackluster performance by national economies—which are usually government-controlled—have exacerbated the negative impact of external economic conditions, bringing many African economies to the brink of collapse.

But these economic problems are compounded by the political—and geopolitical—problems stemming from the oppressive regime in South Africa. No country in southern Africa will thrive until these problems are resolved. This is the wider implication of Nobel Laureate Desmond M. Tutu's movement for peaceful social change.

# Election '84: A JCPS Forum

*On November 14, the Joint Center for Political Studies presented a public policy forum on "Blacks and the 1984 Elections." Held on Capitol Hill, this meeting brought together three expert observers of electoral politics to answer such questions as "What was the black voter turnout?" "How did black candidates fare in state and local races?" and "What was the impact of the black electorate nationwide?"*

*Through discussion of these and related issues, the participants in this forum detailed the post-election political realities for black Americans—realities that must be confronted by political leaders as they plot strategies for the future. The articles that follow are edited versions of the three speakers' remarks.*

## Election Round-Up

**by Thomas E. Cavanagh**

*(Mr. Cavanagh is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)*

After the excitement and high hopes inspired by the Jesse Jackson campaign and the nationwide registration gains of the past year, the November elections were not only anticlimactic for much of black America—they were downright disappointing.

Despite the opposition of 89 percent of blacks nationwide, Ronald Reagan coasted to a landslide victory. Membership in the Congressional Black Caucus declined by one. And the number of black state legislators rose by only three.

### Registration and Turnout

Black turnout appears to have increased. According to preliminary estimates by the Voter Education Project, black turnout in the South swelled by 740,000 over the 1980 level, an increase of 5.3 percent. But this gain was considerably smaller than the black registration increase of 1,324,000, or 10.2 percent, in the South since 1980. And with the exception of major urban centers such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York, which recorded sizeable gains in black turnout, the participation of blacks *outside* the South may not have increased much from 1980.

Voter turnout for the country as a whole went up by only 0.3 percent (from 52.6 to 52.9 percent), according to the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. Thus, the minority community did account for a disproportionate share of this year's newly mobilized voters. The CBS-*New York Times* exit poll found that 12 percent of black voters and 15 percent of Hispanic voters were casting ballots for the first time, compared to only 8 percent of white voters. The participation of first-time black voters, however, may have been partially offset by previously registered blacks who sat out this year's election.

In the black community, the presidential race generated little enthusiasm for either candidate. President Reagan's policies were widely unpopular, while Democratic nominee Walter Mondale devoted relatively little attention to black concerns on such issues as unemployment, civil rights, helping the poor, and South Africa. Mondale's focus on such issues as the deficit and the "star wars" defense proposal left many of the Democrats' traditional constituencies bewildered, and blacks were no exception.

The widespread expectations of a Republican avalanche in the presidential race may have further dampened black spirits at the grass-roots level. Earlier in the year, it was thought that black registration gains could help tip the balance toward the Democrats in the Electoral College. Although these gains did indeed materialize, they were counterbalanced by registration of suburbanites, military personnel, Christian fundamentalists, and other Republican target groups. As a result, Republicans won the registration race: first-time voters as a whole went for Reagan by 60 to 39 percent, according the the CBS-*New York Times* survey.

### The Impact of Black Voters

The arithmetic proved to be more favorable to black interests in some key congressional contests. Black voters were pivotal in three Senate races: the successful reelection bids of Democrats Howell Heflin of Alabama and Carl Levin of Michigan, and Democrat Paul Simon's defeat of Republican incumbent Charles Percy of Illinois. In each case, the defeated Republican candidate carried a majority of the white vote, but the black vote went so heavily for the Democrat that it provided the margin of victory.

On the House side, blacks provided the crucial margin in at least seven races. In North Carolina, Democrats Steve Neal in the 5th district (Winston-Salem) and Bill Hefner in the 8th (Salisbury) won narrowly, thanks to the black vote. Three other southern Democrats, who were first elected by bare margins with strong black support, won comfortably this year thanks to that support: Ben Erdreich in Alabama, Wayne Dowdy in Mississippi, and Robin Tallon in South Carolina. Although each won by 12 percentage points or more, all three would have lost without the cushion provided by black voters. And though blacks wield only a small share of the vote in the districts represented by Bruce Morrison of Connecticut and Jim Jones of Oklahoma, neither man could have held his seat without the support of black voters.

### Black Candidates

One of the prime goals of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign was to encourage blacks to seek office at all levels of government. Although many blacks sought congressional nominations in both parties, one incumbent suffered a primary defeat (Katie Hall in Indiana), and none of the challengers was elected in November. There was one bright spot for the Congressional Black Caucus, though: the incumbents who were renominated all won easily. Freshman Democrat Alan Wheat of Missouri carried his district by a two-to-one vote, even though its electorate is only 20 percent black.

The only black challenger who came close to victory was Robert Clark, who lost narrowly for the second time to Republican Congressman Webb Franklin in the Mississippi Delta. Redistricting had increased the black share of the vote from 48 to 53 percent. Thanks to Franklin's well-funded campaign, however, and an intensive registration drive among whites, more whites than blacks ended up voting on election day, and the whites voted overwhelmingly for Franklin.

The number of black state legislators rose by 3, to 376. Given the Jackson campaign's emphasis on

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* Conference Report
† Special Report

building at the grass roots, this modest result is somewhat puzzling. Among the possible explanations:

- There were no state legislative elections in Alabama, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, or Virginia, all states with large contingents of black elected officials.
- The disappointing black turnout in many areas may have thwarted the hopes of local black candidates.
- The Reagan landslide clearly produced Republican state legislative victories in such southern states as Florida and Texas, lessening the prospects of black Democrats.
- Black incumbents may already be serving in most of the black-majority districts, making future gains more difficult to achieve.

Of the 260 blacks elected to state legislatures in November, only three were Republicans. Perhaps more interesting was the regional variation in candidates' race and party affiliation. In such northern states as Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the Republicans fielded almost as many black state legislative candidates as the Democrats. But only 9 black Republicans were nominated in the South, as opposed to 114 blacks running on the Democratic ticket. The regional difference suggests that the GOP may be pursuing a two-track strategy with black candidates: grooming them to compete in heavily black districts in the North, while building a predominantly white party in the South.

**Race and Southern Politics**

Racial polarization showed up clearly in the southern exit poll results. The CBS - New York Times survey found southern whites favoring Reagan by 72 to 28 percent, while southern blacks supported Mondale by 89 to 9 percent. The disparity was even greater in Alabama and Mississippi, where Reagan's white support topped 80 percent. The media have reacted to these data by suggesting a "white flight" from the Democratic party in the South in response to more visible black participation. It would be a mistake, though, to conclude that racial antipathy is the sole cause of the Republican leanings of southern whites.

The current voting alignment has ample precedent. Indeed, a Gallup poll found only 20 percent of southern whites supporting Democratic presidential nominees Hubert Humphrey in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972. On the other hand, in the 1976 presidential election, and again in the 1982 midterms, a populist coalition of blacks and blue-collar whites rebounded to dominate southern politics. Thus, as issues change and evolve over time, so do the voting patterns of southern whites.

The Joint Center's Gallup study (see September *Focus*) found no sharply hostile reaction to the Jackson campaign among southern whites. Jackson's endorsement made 19 percent of southern whites less likely to vote for Mondale, and 8 percent more likely. Many of the whites responding negatively to Jackson would probably have voted against Mondale for other reasons having little to do with race.

Ever since Reagan entered the White House, southern whites have consistently provided one of his strongest cores of support. The Gallup survey showed that 73 percent of southern whites considered Reagan a strong leader, 62 percent approved of his performance overall, and 53 percent approved of his stand toward the Soviet Union, suggesting that "standing tall for America" plays well in the South. In each case, the figure for southern whites exceeds the figure for the national electorate by a considerable margin.

Moreover, the class polarization engendered by Reagan's economic policies is magnified in the South because the gap between black and white income levels is greater there than it is in the rest of the country. While 57 percent of southern whites approve of Reagan's economic performance, and 49 percent consider themselves better off financially since 1980, 87 percent of southern blacks *disapprove* of Reagan's economic performance, and southern blacks feel *worse off* financially by a margin of 42 to 33 percent.

Not only was Reagan generally popular with southern whites; Mondale was generally unpopular in his own right. By 46 to 36 percent, southern whites thought he was *not* a strong leader. Fully 54 percent thought he "owes a lot of political favors," a means of gauging the significance of the "special interest" label. Interestingly, when asked to specify groups having "too much influence" over national policy, 59 percent cited labor leaders, far ahead of the 30 percent of southern whites who singled out blacks. Ferraro's nomination also cost Mondale some support in the South.

There was, to be sure, a racial component in the vote of southern whites. They opposed preferential treatment for black job applicants by a huge margin of 77 to 5 percent, and approved of Reagan's civil rights policies by 52 to 26 percent. Nevertheless, a careful reading of the survey results indicates that race was by no means the only factor influencing the votes of southern whites this year, and it was probably not even the most important factor. The argument that black participation is crippling the Democrats' ability to appeal to southern whites is simply not supported by the available data. For the Democrats to abandon a constituency that provides between one-third and one-half of their votes in the southern states to satisfy what some have called "the revenge of the white male" would be a foolhardy strategy.

Both parties are clearly nervous about the current state of southern politics. While Democrats cannot win if they cede 70 percent or more of the white vote, neither can the Republicans hope to maintain this percentage for any length of time. Such an outcome would require transcendance of the very real class differences among southern whites, differences that are sharpening over time as the region's urban areas continue to modernize and develop. Southern Republicans such as Senators Thad Cochran of Mississippi and John Warner of Virginia put considerable effort into cultivating the black vote this year, if for no other reason than to provide insurance against the loss of blue-collar whites. Such a strategy may become more common as southern Republicans attempt to distance themselves from a lame-duck President Reagan in preparation for the 1986 midterm elections.

**Next Steps**

Where does black politics go from here? Reviewing the events of the past few years, the most dramatic black political victories have tended to come at the

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local, rather than the national level. A great deal of networking occurred because of the Jackson campaign this year, and the card files, mailing lists, and personal ties forged through that effort are sure to be of use in countless municipal and congressional campaigns over the months and years to come. Jackson's own organization, the National Rainbow Coalition, Inc., is beginning to take root in the form of local chapters and will bear watching as a new organizational base for black political activity.

There may also be renewed interest in exploring the possibilities for leverage within the post-Reagan Republican party. On the Democratic side, the deliberations of the Fairness Commission will give the first concrete indications of potential black influence in the 1988 delegate selection process. And finally, there will likely be a round of black leadership meetings to plot strategy for the future. Although black influence may have been limited in the 1984 presidential contest, the winds of change are blowing through both parties, and the black vote is something neither party can afford to ignore for very long.

## What Realignment?

**by Warren Miller**

*(Mr. Miller is a professor of Political Science at Arizona State University.)*

Both political parties face imminent crises of leadership. The Democrats have seen the weakening of the Roosevelt legacy through a number of elections, and Mr. Mondale's defeat, I believe, signals the end of that lineage. The party now lacks a clearly defined internal establishment that will select the party leadership in years to come.

The problem within the Republican ranks is equally severe. The struggle for dominance within the Republican party has evolved from the days when the Tom Deweys and Herbert Brownells led a liberal Eastern establishment against the conservative Midwestern bloc of the Robert Tafts and John Brickers. What we have now is the party of Goldwater and Reagan, and Republicans fail to recognize the need to identify new standard bearers because they mistake Mr. Reagan's personal triumph for blanket approval of their own political perspective.

While they share the problem of leadership, the two parties are much further apart now than they have been for the past 30 years.

Although much has been said about the uniqueness of those who gathered in Miami to nominate George McGovern in 1972, my own study of national convention delegates—the real activists in presidential campaign politics—suggests that the delegates of 1976 and 1980 were not appreciably more conservative than their immediate predecessors. In other words, the Democratic party remains a very liberal party.

The Republicans, on the other hand, have become even more conservative, a shift symbolized by the performance of their platform committee in Dallas. This wider separation of the two parties must be kept in mind when discussing particular political issues or problems because it is in this context that these matters will be resolved.

**A Mandate for Republicans?**

Much will be made of the presumed rightward shift in the wake of Ronald Reagan's landslide victory. Mr. Reagan—along with his supporters and spokespersons—will do what any reasonable, self-respecting politician would do: he will claim a mandate. Whether he has one is, I think, a different question.

I suspect that, if there was a shift, it was largely semantic, having more to do with the acceptability of calling oneself a conservative than with any change in public attitudes toward public policy questions. It is, of course, the business of politicians and statesmen—and of those who report and analyze politics for mass consumption—to act as though sea changes occur with every election. Those of us who study politics more closely understand the slow, almost glacial pace of real change.

One of the things we will be looking for over the next few years—and it will take that long, I think, to come to real conclusions about the '84 elections—is evidence of an ideological mandate. In the meantime, activists will claim or deny such a mandate, and there will be a dispute over whether a political realignment has occurred.

I predict we will find that very little has changed in the basic contours of Democratic and Republican partisanship. There may be a one- or two-point gain for Republicans, just as the Democrats gained one or two points after the 1964 elections. But this will probably disappear by 1986, and we will then conclude that this election did not change us from a nation that is fundamentally Democratic to one that is Republican.

Because the data indicate that the president simply won a popularity contest on November 6, it is a mistake to draw inferences about the policy preferences of the nation from this. The new Congress, I believe, will reflect the fact that policy preferences of the American people have not changed markedly.

**Racial Polarization**

An increase in racial polarization is another supposed change that many observers have commented on. It is entirely appropriate that we concern ourselves with this question, but if one measures racial polarization in terms of the difference between the proportion of whites who voted Democratic and the proportion of blacks who voted Democratic, one finds that it has changed little.

In 1984, the difference between the 89 percent Democratic vote from the black electorate and the 35 percent Democratic vote from the white electorate was 54 percentage points. What was the gap in 1980? Four years ago, the gap was 56 *points*. It means little that 56 is larger than 54, but it *is* significant that racial polarization is no greater now than it was in 1980.

In 1976, after Jimmy Carter's election, the same polarization measure yielded a 48 point difference. In 1972, the difference was 57 points, and in 1968, 56 points. These numbers show us that from the time Lyndon Johnson and a Democratic Congress passed and implemented the Voting Rights Act, the degree

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# Telescope

### Barker and Maynard Join JCPS Board

The Joint Center for Political Studies has appointed two new members to its board of governors: Lucius Jefferson Barker and Robert C. Maynard.

Lucius Jefferson Barker is Edna F. Gellhorn University Professor of Public Affairs and professor and chairperson, Department of Political Science, at Washington University in St. Louis. Dr. Barker has taught extensively at universities in the United States; his most recent teaching position prior to joining the faculty of Washington University was professor of political science at the University of Illinois, where he also served as assistant chancellor. The author of numerous publications on politics and law, Dr. Barker's latest book, of which he is co-author, is *Civil Liberties and the Constitution: Cases and Commentaries*, published by Prentice-Hall. He has been a member of the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Political Science* and the *American Political Science Review*.

Robert C. Maynard is publisher and president of the *Oakland Tribune*. He is also founder and past chairman of the Institute for Journalism Education. Mr. Maynard has been a member of the editorial board of the *Washington Post*, where he was on the staff from 1967 to 1977. He currently serves on several boards including those of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Foundation for American Communications.

### *Fifteen Years Ago . . . Rural Alabama Revisited*

In 1958 and 1968, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held investigative hearings in 16 counties in Alabama and found that "blacks suffered from discrimination and segregation in every facet of life." The commission returned to Alabama in 1982 and conducted field examinations in 6 of the original 16 counties, believing that events since 1968 (e.g., court orders to desegregate the schools, improved federal aid) should have improved conditions for blacks. *Fifteen Years Ago . . . Rural Alabama Revisited*, published by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, summarizes what they found.

According to the commission, while institutional segregation appeared to have been wiped out by 1982, a more subtle type of discrimination has evolved. For example, in those counties in Alabama where blacks are in the majority and have gained political control as a result of the Voting Rights Act, whites still controlled the major financial institutions and businesses, preventing blacks from entering the economic mainstream. The Civil Rights Commission also found that whites had withdrawn from the public schools and other institutions controlled by blacks, sending their children to private academies. In fact, whites had completely separated themselves from blacks in most aspects of life—business, industry, health care—often resulting in inferior conditions and services for blacks. Any improvements in the conditions for blacks in these counties since 1968 appear to have been the result of federal assistance and programs. Thus the commission believes that when black communities are heavily dependent on federal assistance, "these programs should be enhanced, not eliminated or weakened."

*Fifteen Years Ago* (Clearinghouse Publication Number 82) was authored by the previous Civil Rights Commission, under the direction of Thomas R. Watson, Project Director.

### New JCPS Senior Fellow

John A. Burroughs, former deputy assistant secretary for Equal Employment Opportunity in the U.S. Department of State, has been selected to participate in the Joint Center's Senior Fellows Program. Burroughs served most recently as U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Malawi. In 1980, he was awarded the State Department's Superior Service Award for his efforts in increasing the number of minorities and women in the Foreign Service Officer Corps. From 1970 to 1977, Burroughs served as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

### Two Federal Buildings Named for Blacks

For the first time, two federal buildings in the United States have been named after blacks.

The main post office building in Houston, Texas, has been named after Barbara C. Jordan, the first black congresswoman from the South. The House of Representatives adopted the resolution, sponsored by Mickey Leland (D-TX), to designate the building in honor of Ms. Jordan in June and the building was named on August 27.

A life-long resident of Texas, Ms. Jordan currently serves on the faculty of the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. She was a guest of honor at the Joint Center's seventh annual dinner.

Before adjourning in October, the 98th Congress also passed a bill to name the new multimillion dollar federal building in Jackson, Mississippi, after Dr. A. H. McCoy, who worked on behalf of poor people and black businesses in Jackson. The building is located in the oldest black business district in the United States, according to the citizen's committee that helped organize the campaign on behalf of Dr. McCoy. Dr. McCoy owned and developed much of the property in that district, including the building in which he practiced dental surgery for nearly 40 years. That building was located on a portion of the site now occupied by the new federal building. Dr. McCoy died in April 1970 at the age of 66.

### JCPS EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER

Mark Your Calendar:

The Joint Center's Eighth Annual Dinner will be held on Wednesday, March 21, at the Washington Hilton Hotel. Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the Exxon Corporation, is the National Chairman this year. More details in January . . .

# Election '84 (continued)

## Black Politics: Clout and Symbolism

**Lucius Barker**

*(Mr. Barker is chairman of the political science department at Washington University in St. Louis.)*

In 1984, Ronald Reagan drew a significantly greater share of the white vote than he did in 1980—67 percent, up from 55 percent. An increase in voter turnout among the president's white supporters explains some of this change, and preliminary findings from a Washington University Ph.D. dissertation on voter mobilization help explain the increase in turnout.

This research shows that personal contacts with registered voters increase turnout by 25 percent on average, regardless of the voters' race, education, or income. Yet these contacts have little influence on *how* people vote, so the logical approach for each party is to target its natural constituency. But the Democrats did not do this; like Republicans, they focused on the wealthy, paying less attention to working class, low-income, and poorly educated voters.

Although this strategy worked well for Republicans, it probably cost the Democrats some votes among their traditional supporters—especially blacks—who would have voted in greater numbers if they had been contacted.

This perceived slight, along with Mondale's landslide loss despite 89 percent of the black vote, has prompted some observers to suggest that blacks split their support between the two parties in future elections. They argue that the traditional and overwhelming support of blacks allows Democratic candidates to take them for granted and Republicans to ignore them. Nevertheless, this suggestion will remain meritless until it is accompanied both by concrete evidence that the interests of minorities would be better served by such a switch and by symbolic actions on the part of Republicans to show respect for black concerns. At present, there is little to indicate that the Republican party will soon become more attractive to blacks.

Jesse Jackson himself was a master at mixing electoral might and symbolism. In his campaign, he shrewdly developed his own political power, but he also used symbols effectively. His mere entry into the race occasioned a reevaluation of certain cherished myths about this country.

Jesse Jackson challenged Americans to live up to the ideals expressed in the statements that any person can become president and that all persons deserve an equal opportunity to reach their full potential. He also questioned some long-standing features of the political process. Among them: voter registration procedures, runoff primaries, at-large elections, and other schemes that he believes limit blacks' political influence and participation. Undoubtedly, many Americans would prefer that Jesse Jackson simply play by the established rules, but to do so would negate the important symbolism inherent in his actions.

He reminds the nation in a dramatic way of its unfulfilled commitment to the goals of civil rights law. This message transcends party politics and individual leaders, which explains how Jackson manages to garner enviable support from an overwhelming majority of black Americans.

Both Democratic and Republican leaders could learn important lessons from the Reverend Jackson. And other black leaders may find that they, too, can wield influence disproportionate to their representation in the population by combining symbols and clout effectively. In fact, they must do this if blacks are to maintain a role in the political life of this nation.

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## What Realignment?

*(Continued from page 6)*

of racial polarization has remained relatively constant.

It is quite incorrect, therefore, to characterize the election results in terms of a sudden white flight from the Democratic party. If we are going to understand what the voters had in mind, we must recognize the broader context involved in national electoral decision making. And the context here is a society with a decades-long history of extreme polarization along racial lines. The Democratic leadership must deal with this situation, but it should not interpret the 1984 election results as a new directive to ignore black America in exchange for white support.

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